1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

000 316 the highest, coldest, part of the country. Coal was exploited and mined in a primitive way in one of the valleys north of Hsining and near the junction of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers. According to the local *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, p. 20*a*), iron was exploited during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644); but the deposits must have been exhausted, because during the period of my stay iron was carried all the way from the Province of Szech'uan on donkeys and mules.

In the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, and some of their small tributaries, gold was panned at irregular intervals; south of the Hsining River and in the upper reaches of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, thirty-one auriferous placers were regularly exploited, mostly by Muslims.

487 492 505 The system of communications was primitive. Ox carts could travel on the roads near the larger towns and villages, but most transportation depended on pack-animals, including donkeys, mules, and horses. It was only subsequent to the period covered by this study that a highway was built connecting Lanchou, the capital of the Province of Kansu, with Hsining, the capital of Ch'inghai. The Hsining River was, therefore, the biggest transport asset of the country. From the Hsining River to the Yellow River, which flows by the city of Lanchou, cargoes of grain, wool, skins, vegetable oils, and alcohol were carried on rafts made either of wood or of inflated ox skins as far as the city of Paot'ou, in the Province of Suiyüan, where they were unloaded and carried on by rail to the seaport of Tientsin. Most of this transportation business was in the hands of Chinese Muslims. [463] [563]

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 In the oldest Chinese historical references, the country between the Tat'ung, Hsining, and Yellow Rivers was called Huang Chung and was inhabited by tribes called Ch'iang. The Chinese ideograph for this name indicated that it had the meaning "herders of sheep." The name is one that has never disappeared from Chinese usage in referring to the peoples of the edge of the Tibetan plateau; it is in use to this day. In 202 B.C. the Hsiao Yuehchih, who were probably speakers of an eastern Iranian, Indo-European language, fled from the Hsiung-nu, the principal tribe of the northern Chinese frontier, settled among the Ch'iang tribes, and were absorbed by them.

In 116 B.C. Ho Ch'ü-ping, one of the most famous frontier commanders in Chinese history, came to Huang Chung and founded the first Chinese colonies among the Ch'iang tribes. In A.D. 4 more Chinese colonies were established in the region of Kukunor, but were lost after a few years. This was, in fact, a precarious frontier. For three hundred and sixty years the frontier colonies were often in danger of annihilation, being subject to frequent tribal attack and without support from China proper, because the Later Han dynasty of the first and second centuries A.D. was troubled with chronic dynastic

[P. 19a]

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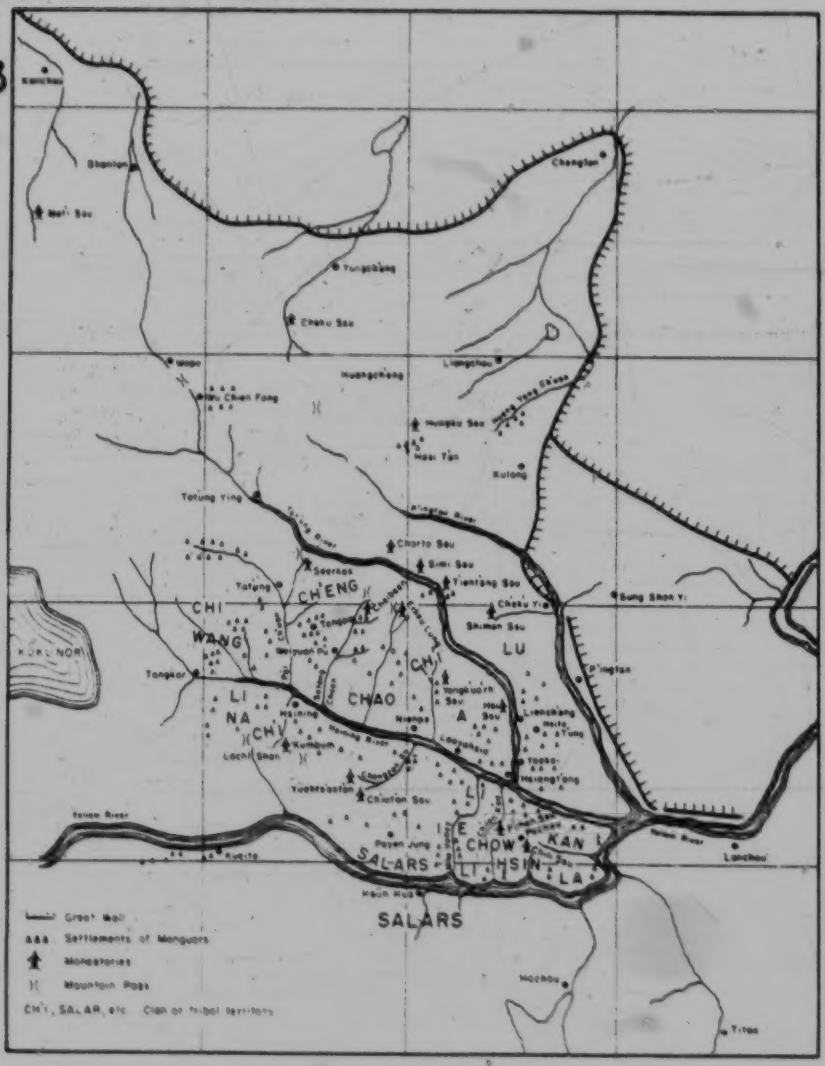

MAP 2

[p.20]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 the region came under the jurisdiction of an official with the Manchu title of Amban.

According to the *Annals of Hsining*, ch. 16, pp. 12 *a* and *b*, the tribal jurisdiction of the Amban derived from a meeting that had been held in 1732 between the provinces of Szech'uan and Shen-Kan (or "Shensi and Kansu," but embracing the territories not only of the present provinces of Shensi and Kansu but of the later-established provinces of Ningshia and Ch'inghai as well). At this meeting each tribe was assigned a fixed territory for the first time in history. The tribes allocated to the Amban of Hsining included twenty-eight banners of the Mongols of Kukunor and one banner of Mongols located in Tibet proper; the Tibetan tribes of the Kukunor frontier were reorganized at that time and for that purpose into eight major tribal groups; twenty-five Tibetan tribes of the frontier district of Yüshu, each under a chief with the title of T'u-ssu; and the very independent and warlike Tibetan tribe of the Ngoloks. By 1918, when a census was taken, the eight major Tibetan tribal groups just mentioned were reported to number 8,443 families, totaling 39,390 people.[2a]

The territory inhabited by a settled farming population was divided into the seven sub-prefectures of Hsining, Nienpei, Tat'ung, Kueite, Donkir, Payenjung, and Hsünhua. The fields around the cities and big villages were tilled by Chinese, but in outlying districts Tibetans and Monguors were to be met, wearing their distinctive, non-Chinese costumes and speaking their own languages. On the southern, western, and northern fringes of the land settled by Chinese were sedentary Tibetans who farmed and also raised sheep and cattle. In enclaves within the Chinese population lived the Monguors, in well-defined valleys where there was little Chinese population. Scattered here and there were villages of Chinese-speaking Muslims. On the southern edge of the district lived the Turkish-speaking Salar Muslims.

TIBETANS

●563 From the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, pp. 11–20, the names of sixty-six Tibetan tribes can be counted, and in addition the names of fifty-two villages inhabited by Tibetans in the seven sub-prefectures of Hsining. These village Tibetans were called by the Chinese "tame" in contrast with the "wild" nomad Tibetans in the Kukunor frontier district. According to the *Annals*, the village Tibetans numbered 10,683 families, totaling 42,732 people. The exact average of four persons per family suggests that these figures are more schematic than accurate. The large number of tribes given for the "tame" Tibetans can be taken only as a general guide. It is characteristic of Tibetan tribes that they very easily subdivide into new tribes, and often a group of no more than ten or twenty families will call itself a tribe. The tribal Tibetans close

[2a] Yao Ming-hui, *Yüshu tiaoch'a chi* 1, 1–24, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1928.

[P. 21-b]

1; Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

563 to Hsining are the remnants of the once much more powerful tribes that withdrew at the beginning of the Mongol dynasty to the Kukunor region. Those who stayed behind submitted to the jurisdiction of the officials of the settled districts. There is little cohesion among them. Those who call themselves a tribe are rarely under the control of a single chief. Tribal matters are more usually disposed of by the elders of the group. The religion of all these Tibetans is Lama Buddhism. The prevailing sect is that of the Yellow Hats or reformed sect, but in the southern districts there is a fairly strong survival of the older Red Hat sect. Shamanism also continues to flourish among the Tibetans, in spite of Buddhism; their shamans are reputed to be the most powerful in the country. There are a few Tibetans living near Hsünhua who have become Muslims.

MONGUORS

563 In the seven sub-prefectures of Hsining there were
175 then living sixteen clans of Monguors, to which should
618 be added the Liench'eng clan, living in the territory of the sub-prefecture of P'ingfan. The word "clan" has been used in many senses in the literature of the social sciences. It is here used in a special sense, and for lack of a more precise term, to describe a group of people ruled by the same chief, all people born into the clan bearing the same surname as the chief of the clan and living on territory belonging to the chief. The Monguor clans (excepting the Shat'o groups) trace their presence in the Hsining district as far back as the period of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty (1260–1368). On the overthrow of this dynasty they submitted to the Ming dynasty. A fixed territory was then assigned to the chief of each clan. The Tibetans of the Hsining district were assigned territories in the same way at the same time. While the Tibetans were subject to the direct administration of the Chinese sub-prefecture officials, however, the Monguors, in spite of the fact that their territories formed enclaves within the sub-prefectures, were directly administered by their own clan chiefs under a peculiar kind of local autonomy.

MUSLIMS

563 The Hsining district is also an important Muslim stronghold. There are three Muslim groups, of which two still speak a Turkish dialect while one speaks Chinese. According to their own tradition, the Chinese-speaking Muslims are of Turkish origin, but while clinging to their religion they have adopted the Chinese language and many Chinese customs. From the Chinese point of view, however, they remain foreigners and barbarians, and there is cordial mutual dislike between Chinese and Chinese-speaking Muslims. In the Chinese *Annals* I have not been able to find any reference to the date of their earliest settlement in this region, although according to popular tradition they arrived either during

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563 the T'ang dynasty (618–906) or the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368).

The presence of Muslims in the Hsining district under the Yuan dynasty is however evidenced by two passages in the *Annals*. One of the sixteen Monguor clans, the small clan of Yeh, is described as being of Ch'ant'ou origin, and Muslim by religion. The term Ch'ant'ou, meaning "those who wear a turban on the head," is commonly applied to central Asian Turkish Muslims. Since this clan submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 at the same time as the other Monguor clans, it must have been settled in the country under the preceding Yuan or Mongol dynasty. (Provincial *Annals*, ch. 42, p. 52.) It is also stated in the same *Annals* (ch. 42, p. 43) that the Salars also submitted to the Ming in 1371, when two of their chiefs were granted the rank of T'u-ssu. According to popular tradition they came to China from Samarkand under the T'ang dynasty. The *Annals* give no evidence for or against this tradition, but show that they were at least living in China at the end of the Yuan dynasty.[26]

The religious fanaticism of the Muslims has been their strength and their weakness. It has enabled them to hold their own against the Chinese, but rivalry between sects has prevented complete cohesion. One sect, commonly known as the Old Religion, belongs to the Hanefite school; that is to say, it bases its religious doctrines on the Korán and on the Sunna or tradition. The other sect, known as the New Religion, is divided into a number of subsects and derives from the schools of the Shias and the Sufis. This sect holds that religious leaders are invested by God with special "grace"; this grace can be passed on to their sons who succeed them as religious chiefs. Owing to this belief, the sect is always exposed to the danger of further subdivision through the appearance of new claimants to religious leadership who declare themselves to be endowed with "grace." Owing to its belief in this kind of religious inspiration, the sect is marked by its devotion to the cult of saints and their tombs.

The Chinese-speaking Muslims are to be found in the cities and in villages to the west, south, and north of Hsining. Occasionally a few Chinese-speaking Muslims are to be found living in villages of the non-Muslim Chinese, but non-Muslim Chinese do not live in the villages of the Muslims. While the Muslims engage in agriculture, their most important and profitable activities

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[26] The following references to the Muslims of Northwest China are from *Moslem World*, New York: M. E. Botham, Islam in Kansu (**10**: 377–390, 1919); H. D. Hayward, The Kansu Moslems (**24**: 68–80, 1934) and Han and Hwei in the Kansu-Sinkiang marches (**26**: 62–67, 1936). See also G. F. Andrew, Islam in North-West China today, *Jour. Roy. Central Asian Soc.*, London, **19**: 89–100, 1932.

Kansu was disturbed by Muslim rebellions in 1648, 1781–1784, 1820–1828, 1862–1878, 1895–1897; a revolt broke out in 1909 but was suppressed by the Muslim chiefs themselves; between 1918 and 1921 the situation was very tense; the last revolt, 1928–1929, was headed by Ma Chung-ying.

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are in the grain trade, and the buying and selling of horses, mules, oxen, sheep, wool, hides, and lamb skins. Their importance in the boat and raft trade on the Yellow River has already been noted; and many Muslims are innkeepers on the roads of Kansu. Even the astute Chinese respect them as formidable rivals in trade. There is a Chinese saying to the effect that "one Muslim asleep is more intelligent than ten wide awake Chinese," and another that "the food of the Muslims is tasteful, but their words are not to be trusted." It is also said that "out of ten Muslims nine are thieves."

SALARS

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The Salars live chiefly in two groups in the sub-prefectures of Hsünhua and Payenjung.[48] The famous Chinese Muslim general, Ma Fu-hsiang, who enlisted many Salars in his troops, mentions the tradition that the Salars came to China as early as the T'ang dynasty, and describes them as having settled in their present homes under the Yuan or during the Ming dynasty. He divides them into two groups, the "inner five clans" (using for "clan" the Chinese word *kung*) and the "outer eight clans." The "outer" group, according to General Ma, is one that has lost its Turkish language and now speaks Tibetan. The Salars preserve their old customs and traditions by marrying only within their own groups.[4] I have often been told by Uighurs from Sinkiang who used to come to Hsining every winter to deal in Russian leather, boots, and cloth, that they could not understand the dialect either of the Salars or the Turkish-descended Monguors of the Yeh clan.

The Salars are the most fanatical of all the Muslims and during the great Muslim revolts against the Chinese they have always been the fiercest and the most cruel warriors. General Ma Fu-hsiang carefully distinguishes the Salars from the Tibetans, from the groups of Mongol origin converted to Islam, and from the Tibetan-speaking group of Mongol origin which has also been converted to Islam. He himself belongs to the group of converts of Mongol descent. This group is called "San-t'a" by both Tibetans and Monguors.[5]

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[48] General references: R. B. Shaw, On the hill canton of Salar. The most easterly settlement of the Turki race. *Jour. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, London, **10**: 305–316, 1878; G. F. Andrew, Ancient Chinese Koran. *Moslem World*, New York, **24**: 84, 1934; C. D. Holton, Salars. *Friends of Moslems*, Hankow, **19**: 13, 1945. See also article "China" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* **1**: 839–854, Leyden, Brill, 1913–1934.

[4] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng-Tsang Chuang-k'uang* (General account of Mongolia and Tibet), 200, Nanking, Chunghua Publishers, 1936.

[5] According to A. De Smedt and A. Mostaert, *Le dialecte monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou occidental, IIIe partie, Dictionnaire monguor-français*, 324, Peiping, Catholic Univ., 1933, "san-t'a" is probably from *sarta'ul*, "Musulman." See also P. Pelliot, in *T'oung Pao* **27**: n. 2, 1930: "*Sarta'ul*, nom mongol des Musulmans (surtout de ceux du Turkestan russe) au Moyen Age."

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eldest son, succeeding as the new T'u-ssu by right of being the first born, had a distinguishing privilege. The land taxes due to him (in the form of grain) had to be brought to his mansion, while the junior houses had themselves to collect the taxes from the villages assigned to them.

At the beginning of the Ming dynasty, when the houses were first established, the tax revenues must have provided a comfortable living for each house, and it is probable that they needed no other income to live at leisure, at the expense of the commoners. After a few generations, however, as the descendants of each house became more and more numerous, the collection of taxes became increasingly a problem. Divided and subdivided claims to a share of the revenue became insufficient to maintain the claimant families, and were inevitably the cause of quarrels and feuds. In the end, claims to the right to collect subdivided fractions of the land tax became chronic sources of trouble not only among the families constituting the house, but between them and the commoners from whom the revenue was collected.

In some houses the constituent families agree with each other to take turns collecting the available revenue, but this leads to disputes every year and sometimes to fierce fighting. It is not unknown for two or three families to go to the villages, trying to collect the land taxes in competition with each other. When this happens, the villagers are angered and demand that the families who lay claim to revenue patch up their quarrels and adjust their claims before the villagers open their granaries. Those who claim a right to collect revenue, on the other hand, resort to various kinds of deceit in trying to extort more from the villages and to get more than the legal or customary amount. In such problems and quarrels the T'u-ssu himself is involved because by tradition it is he and not the houses who fixes the rates at which levies are collected.

The sources of income of a T'u-ssu are more varied than those of a noble house. The T'u-ssu collects the land taxes in the villages which form the portion of his own house, and in addition collects a number of special taxes which provide his personal revenue. Most of these taxes are collected from Chinese living or trading within his territory. When Monguors who belong to his clan buy livestock, wool, skins, or grain they do not pay a tax on the transaction. On such transactions the Chinese, however, do pay a tax, and so do Monguors of other clans when they engage in such transactions within the territory of the T'u-ssu. Chinese shopkeepers, blacksmiths, and innkeepers living within the clan territory pay taxes. Imposts are levied on rafts and boats on rivers running through the clan territory. At the diets or clan assemblies, and at festivals at Lama monasteries in the clan territory, taxes are collected from Chinese merchants. Payments must also be made for the registration of title deeds to land and houses, and

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624 651 563 taxes are collected from Chinese who graze their herds on the clan territory. When the T'u-ssu sitting in judgment settles a quarrel, he collects a payment. He also expects gifts in cash when he makes his triennial visit to the villages and on the occasion of funerals and marriages.

As opposed to these sources of personal revenue, the T'u-ssu has very few administrative expenses because most administration is carried on through the obligatory services of clan members. The few Chinese secretaries who are employed receive instead of salary the allocation of fields which they are allowed to farm without paying land taxes. Since there are no schools, there is no budget for education, nor is there any expenditure for building roads or bridges or for the upkeep of administrative buildings because all such work is done through the levying of obligatory labor. Monguor carpenters, bricklayers, and other artisans, in addition to unskilled labor, being available through the institution of obligatory labor services (corvée). Since each village has to provide a fixed number of soldiers, with their full equipment, uniforms, weapons, horses, tents, food, etc., there is no budget for military expenses.

THE CHIEF OF THE CLAN

624 618 The description of the composition of the clan that has been given in the preceding pages raises by implication the problem of the origin and evolution of the clan chief.

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE CLAN CHIEF INSTITUTION

The clan chief is *not an essential element* of the clan. Vladimirtsov,[12] drawing on the Mongol *Secret History* and other chronicle material, demonstrates that, in periods when the pastoral tribes of Mongolia were not unified in large groups under powerful clans, it was quite common to find clans without a regular hereditary aristocracy, led simply by self-constituted chiefs who were heads of families. By way of comparison, it may be noted that most of the small Tibetan tribes of the Hsining region have no aristocracy of chiefs, but are ruled by a sort of council of the heads of families.

The historical and comparative material makes it clear that in clan societies without hereditary chiefs leaders may be designated temporarily and for specific purposes, such as the organization of community hunting drives, raids on other tribes, or defense against raiders. Leadership in such cases may be influenced by, but not solely determined by, seniority in the clan. It may also be influenced by the personal characteristics of resourcefulness or aggressiveness in the man who becomes a leader, or by the number of his relatives and friends and the degree to which they are respected in the community, and, therefore, it may be said that such leadership simultaneously carries a tinge of usurpation by the

[12] *Op. cit.*, 93.

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country of Lu. 'Your family submitted [to the Ming dynasty] long ago, and has fought bravely in many expeditions in far-off regions; your glorious achievements may be compared with those of the duke of Chu, and I therefore bestow on you the name of Lu. From that time, says the chronicle, the line [that is now] Lu changed its clan name to Lu. Unfortunately, however, the chronicle does not say whether the clan name was previously Pao or Ch'i.

"There remains to be mentioned the use of double names, called in Chinese "*fu hsing*," borne by a very few Monguor families. I noted only 5 such names: Ho-Li chia, Pao-Ma chia, Chang-Li chia, Yuan-Pao chia. The *Po-chia-hsing*, the traditional list of Chinese clan or family names, records 408 single and 30 double names, and the few double names encountered among the Monguors are not included among the 30. What may account for the Monguor double names has always been a mystery to me. I was never able to determine whether the few families of commoners bearing these names were genuine Chinese, or sinicized Monguors, or Tibetans.

TIBETANS

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In addition to the Chinese there are in some clans large numbers of Tibetans but they appear to have joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese.

In the Li clan there are 20 Tibetan families living in the Narin valley and 60 families, still wearing Tibetan dress but speaking Monguor, in Hsiatsantze ("Lower station"). These 80 families are scattered remnants of the Tibetan K'eelurk tribe. In Tseilin[54] valley lives a group of 40 Tibetan families, and another group in Shuimokou ("Water-mill valley") of more than 100 Tibetan families who speak Monguor, but still dress in the Tibetan fashion, who once belonged to the famous Yang T'u-ssu of Choni monastery in T'aochou prefecture. They adopted the name Li.

In the Ch'i clan there are 32 Tibetan families speaking Monguor but dressing like Tibetans, in Tungtsantze ("Eastern station"). They belonged originally to the two Tibetan tribes of Kairtsen and Nguertsa. In Chungtsantze ("Central station") are 40 Tibetan families also speaking Monguor but dressing like Tibetans, who formerly belonged to the tribes of Mach'i and Ch'iaok'o.

"In the clan of the Wang T'u-ssu there are 18 Tibetan families.

"In the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu there are 453 Tibetan families, scattered in 13 villages numbering 2,365 persons. For this big group, there are historical data. They are descended from families granted to the T'u-ssu by the emperor as a reward for his strong support in

[54] This place name, especially as the second syllable is written with the Chinese character for "grove, wood," may be a Chinese form from Monguor *dziàri*, given in the *Dictionnaire*, as cited above, as "bois sacre," with a suggested possible further derivation from Tibetan *t'sal*, "bois."—O. L.

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563 177 the suppression of the big Mongol and Tibetan frontier revolt in 1723.

As for these large groups, it is to be noted that they are enrolled in two of the most outstanding clans, the Li and the Ch'i. The Ch'i clan descends from the imperial family of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan has always been the strongest of all the Monguor clans. 173 177 563 Under the Mongol dynasty members of this clan held the most important administrative posts in Hsining. A tradition runs in these clans that the Tibetans enrolled on their lists were already living in the country under the Mongol dynasty and at that time had already separated from their original tribes and submitted to the ancestors of the Li and Ch'i clans. This tradition seems quite credible. More is not known about these Tibetans, and nothing about the 18 families under the Wang T'u-ssu. Besides these groups of Tibetans, many single Tibetan families enrolled at different times in most of the clans and live scattered among the Monguors.

177 Owing to the enrollment of Tibetans and to marriages between Monguors and Tibetans there are in Monguor social life many practices proper to the matriarchal family system. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese, many Monguors have lost their own language, repudiated their Monguor origin, and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook.

When Chinese or Tibetans enrolled in the clans, they became plain clansmen and commoners like ordinary Monguors. They were no longer under the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials in respect to taxes or military service. On the other hand they could not renounce their allegiance to the T'u-ssu, or leave his territory without his permission.

The question whether there are still other "Monguor" clans in other parts of Kansu may be answered as follows: the clans called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsining region are the only seventeen clans that constitute the subject of the present study. It is known that at the time these clans submitted to the Ming dynasty and their chiefs were made T'u-ssu, other groups of Mongols lived in the southeastern part of Kansu, in the regions of Titao, Hochou, and Minchou. Their chiefs, like those of the Monguors, were made T'u-ssu, had territories assigned to them, and acted as "wardens of the marches" (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 12, *passim*). They did not, however, form part of the same community as the Monguors. The chiefs and nobles of one of these groups, living east of Hochou, claim to be descendants of the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty (*Annals, ibid.*). They became Muslims, and speak a language akin to Mongol.[35] Another group, also near Hochou, are called Sant'a [36] or "Muslims"; they became Muslims during the Ch'ien Lung period (1736–1796), in order to save their lives at a time when the region was dominated by rebellious Muslims. The famous Muslim gen-

[35] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng-Tsang Chuangk'uang*, 200–202.
[36] From the Chinese transcription of "Sart."—O. L.

Tibetan tribe on the shore of the lake from whose territory they plan to operate, making him a present of the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity and a cask of wine, some tobacco, and noodles. They are then given the chief's permission and the protection of the tribe. The men of each fishing expedition usually go to the same territory every year and become sworn brothers of the chief or of some important local nomad, in order to make sure that while they are camped by the lake they will be allowed to gather fuel and will have no animals stolen.

Each fisherman breaks a hole in the ice, and spreads a couple of sheep skins on which he sits crosslegged, a two-pronged fork in his hands, waiting for fish to come to the surface of the water. The fish is harpooned with the fork and thrown on the ice. The frozen fish are either carried to market, usually at the city of Hsining, by the Monguors themselves or sold to Muslim merchants who make up caravans of twenty or thirty mules or donkeys. These expeditions involve hard work and exposure to the bitter cold, but the business must be remunerative as many Monguors go year after year.

TRADE

In the territory inhabited by the Monguors trade, transport, and small industries are mostly in the hands of Chinese and Muslims. The Muslims are an energetic and enterprising people, even more hard working and indefatigable than other Chinese. They willingly engage in the arduous work of driving caravans of pack-mules and in running rafts and boats down the Hsining and Upper Yellow Rivers in all weathers. Most of the peddlars are also Muslims, who travel either with a pack on their backs or with a loaded donkey, wandering through the Monguor country from house to house, exchanging cloth, needles, thread, and other small wares for wool, skins, eggs, and grain. In the autumn, Muslim buyers collect sheep and oxen and drive them to Hsining in small herds.

There are very few Chinese peddlars, but the distilleries and flour and oil mills, which require money capital, are run by Chinese, and the Chinese monopolize the pork business, since the Muslims will have nothing to do with pigs. All through the year, and especially during the autumn, while the Muslims are buying up other livestock the Chinese butchers of the cities and towns send their agents into the Monguor villages to buy hogs. The Chinese merchants who do business on a bigger scale than the Muslim peddlars also send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at such large gatherings as the lama monastery festivals and the annual meetings of the Monguor clans.

Grain and oil seeds, being the main crops of the Monguors, are also the main commodities of trade. The conversion of grain into alcohol and of oil seeds into oil results in products of higher value in proportion to bulk and weight which can stand the cost of transporta-

441 tion to more distant markets that could not be reached by the unprocessed grain and seeds. These enterprises are, therefore, outlying Chinese businesses intermediate between the Monguor country and the Chinese-inhabited towns and cities. Wealthy Monguors, not confident of their own ability in trade, often invest their money in such Chinese enterprises; often, unfortunately, with the result that the Chinese partners get rich while the Monguors lose their money. Only a few Monguors, who are already well on the way toward becoming completely Chinese, venture into such enterprises as managing a small shop or buying and selling animals or wool and skins.

439 In the autumn, the Chinese managers of distilleries and oil mills make contracts with the Monguor farmers, the farmers undertaking to plant an agreed acreage with the crop required by the Chinese, and to sell the harvest [H52] at an agreed price. On the strength of this agreement, the Chinese buyer makes a cash advance to the Monguor farmer. Wheat that does not go to the distilleries is bought up by Muslim dealers. The wheat is measured at the Monguor farm with the buyers' own measure, draft animals are hired from the Monguors to bring the wheat to the river bank, and it is there loaded on rafts and floated down to Lanchow.

252 There are some mills that grind flour for local Monguor consumption, and for that of neighboring Mongol and Tibetan nomads, and Chinese cities. These mills are built along small streams. A vertical wooden wheel carries an endless chain of buckets. As the stream fills the lower buckets, the wheel turns; coming up over the wheel, the buckets empty into a chute, and the descending water turns the nether stone of the mill, while the upper stone remains fixed. The grindstones are so crudely grooved that the grain has to be milled three times. Professional grindstone makers cut the blue stone in the mountains, install the millstones at the mill, and visit the mills every month to cut fresh grooves in the stones. There are only a few mills with horizontal power-wheels.

231 In the profitable business of buying livestock to be
463 slaughtered in such cities as Hsining and Lanchou, the
563 Muslims have a virtual monopoly of buying cows and oxen, the Chinese have a monopoly in buying pigs, and
441 both Muslim and Chinese butchers buy sheep. The most important season is the autumn, when the animals are in the best condition. Sheep are herded slowly for a journey of ten days or more to Lanchou, in order to
231 prevent them from going lame and losing weight. Pigs
441 are also driven slowly, each batch of pigs being handled by three men, moving only six or eight miles a day and sometimes taking a month to reach market. Ahead of the pigs is a man on foot driving a donkey loaded with dried peas and a long basket. Every mile or two the donkey is halted, some of the peas are poured into the basket, and enough is fed to the pigs to whet their appetites and keep the fat animals waddling after the

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1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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624 Manchu policy, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of preventing unity among the Eastern, Northern, and Western Mongols. In the nineteenth century, as the dynasty became less Manchu and more Chinese in its characteristics, the T'u-ssu were honored by the court in distant Peking, and were kept loyal and complacent by gifts and grants of honors—a policy ancient and widespread in the Orient.

Practically, the main factor in prolonging the survival of the institution was the feudal right of the T'u-ssu to prevent their subjects from leaving their territories, aided by the fact that because Chinese officials were unable to levy direct taxes on Monguors, life was on the whole somewhat better in Monguor territory than in territory under Chinese administration. As these factors later came to be equalized by the combination of the decreasing power of the T'u-ssu and their increasing exactions from their subjects, the most obvious phenomenon of the breakup of the T'u-ssu institution was the ability of subject Monguors to abandon their T'u-ssu with impunity and move into territory under direct Chinese control.

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563 Among the disruptive factors within the Monguor society the most powerful was the enrollment of Chinese and Tibetans in the Monguor clans. The Tibetans were culturally more akin to the Monguors than the Chinese, and easily adopted the Monguor costume, traditions, and language; but their matrilineal kinship system undermined the patriarchal clan structure of the Monguors. The Chinese, on the other hand, penetrated the Monguor society without being absorbed by it. When a Chinese asked for the protection of a Monguor T'u-ssu and enrolled in a Monguor clan, it was for the deliberate purpose of making the best of two worlds. His object was not to become a Monguor, but to escape both the taxes that he had to pay to the Chinese authorities and the taxes that, as a Chinese resident or trading in the Monguor community, he had to pay to the Monguor T'u-ssu. With their strong Chinese devotion to their own clans and clan ancestors, such Chinese were unwilling to go so far as to accept the clan name of the T'u-ssu. They tended to continue to regard the Monguors as barbarians, and to resist the adoption of the Monguor costume and language. At the same time they pushed themselves forward in the administration of the villages in which they lived and the clans to which they had become attached, and in so doing their influence was naturally in the direction of the Chinese way of doing things and the Chinese way of thinking.

The infiltration of the Chinese trend of mind into the Monguor family system and social structure was promoted most by those Chinese who became elders and chiefs of villages and officials and secretaries living in the immediate surrounding of the T'u-ssu, drafting and executing his orders to his subjects and discussing administrative topics with him. All official documents were written in Chinese, and in all administrative discussions and meetings the Chinese language prevailed.

[p. 129b]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

177 In cases where the Chinese authorities eventually deposed
563 a T'u-ssu and took his territory and its population under direct Chinese administration, Chinese who had long been domiciled among the Monguors naturally became prominent people under the new dispensation. Thus it is plain that even though the Chinese civil officials were appointed by the T'u-ssu themselves, and not by the higher Chinese authorities, their influence promoted the process of the absorption of the Monguors by Chinese culture.

In the disintegration of the old Monguor society the personal example of the T'u-ssu themselves had a great effect. In the long period of relative peace and stability along the froniter under Manchu rule, the T'u-ssu ceased to receive fresh increments of prestige in their old capacity as military commanders and "wardens of the marches." They, therefore, naturally began to turn toward the standards of prestige accepted in the settled Chinese population. It became usual for T'u-ssu to marry the daughters of rich Chinese officials, or the half-Chinese daughters of other T'u-ssu who had married Chinese. There was thus introduced into the households of the T'u-ssu a Chinese "fine lady" point of view; these ladies despised the costume of the Monguor women as barbarous, they did not learn the Monguor language, their children received a Chinese home education and were sent to Chinese schools, and it thus became more and more common to find T'u-ssu who were unable even to speak with their subjects in their own language. Following the fashion set by their chiefs, many Monguors married the daughters of Chinese domiciled in the clan or Chinese from outside, and as this custom spread a great many Monguors in all the clans came to be ashamed of their Monguor extraction, repudiated their origin, and professed to be of Chinese origin.

177 Still another disruptive factor was that many T'u-ssu,
563 by mortgaging parts of their territories to Chinese mer-
421 chants and to lamaseries, as security for loans, lost control over the revenue from land taxes. Under these conditions they still retained the power to requisition corvée labor services; but the exercise of this power emphasized the contrast between the privileges of the chiefs and the obligations of their subjects, and weakened the bonds of loyalty that had once united the nobility and the commoners.

624 In the meantime, the T'u-ssu institution was also be-
661 coming corrupt from within. As the administrative system of the clan was so closely geared to the institution of the corvée, or obligatory labor and services, and military power depended on unpaid conscription, only a few officials received allocations of land, the income from which served as salary. The majority of the minor officials depended on bribery for their cash income, there being unlimited opportunities for bribery in the collection of land and other taxes in the form of gifts from families and individuals who wanted to be excused from compulsory services. Since it was profitable to hold such

624 661 an official position, there was bribery also in the competition for official appointments, and thus the whole administration of the Monguor clans became thoroughly corrupt. The taxable body came to be regarded as a melon to be sliced. Apart from what was absorbed in the lower ranks through corruption, all revenue collected was the perquisite of the T'u-ssu himself. Since nothing was done for public welfare, there were no schools, there was no budget for education, nor was there any expenditure for building roads or bridges or for the upkeep of administrative buildings, because all such work was done through the levying of obligatory labor. Monguor carpenters, bricklayers, and other artisans in addition to unskilled labor were available through the institution of obligatory labor services.

177 563 During the process of the disintegration of the Monguor society, it remained none the less a going concern up to a certain point. As long as the T'u-ssu retained more than a certain minimum of power and wealth, it was to the advantage of the Chinese officials to cooperate with them in certain ways. Up to this point, therefore, the individual Monguor, even though he suffered from the decay of the society of which he was a part, found it impossible to escape and strike out for himself. If he tried to leave his village and settle in Chinese territory, the Chinese officials would return him to the jurisdiction of his hereditary T'u-ssu. Once the wealth and influence of the T'u-ssu had declined below the minimum, however, it was no longer worth the while of Chinese officials to cooperate with them. At this point the Chinese began to abolish or override the privileges of the T'u-ssu, to take the Monguor districts under their direct administration, and to treat the Monguors in the same way as Chinese. An example of this changing attitude of the Chinese officials has already been referred to in the case of the impoverished Chao T'u-ssu who was unable to afford the expenses of investiture and promptly had his office discontinued. An earlier case was that of the Ch'en T'u-ssu, a supercilious and over-confident man who was so oppressive in his demands for taxes and corvées that he was impeached before the Chinese court by his own subjects, about the year 1875. His territory was confiscated, his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects, and he lost both the office and the title of T'u-ssu.

The Yeh T'u-ssu who did not fight the Muslim rebellion had his territory confiscated, was deposed, and he and his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects.

The latest news I have had from Hsining since the new Communist rulers of China have taken possession of that region is that the T'u-ssu institution has been abolished, that the Monguor women and men have been ordered to change their peculiar Monguor style of dressing and to adopt Chinese costume, and that orders have been given to establish schools in the Monguor villages under Chinese teachers devoted to the new ideology. The two-thousand-year-old Chinese instinct for absorb-

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

177 ing neighboring tribes and making Chinese of them
513 seems still to linger in Chinese minds, no matter what the official ideology may be. It will not be long before all the Monguor clans will have been "sinized," leading to their disappearance as a distinct people, and in the future very little will be available about the origins, institutions, traditions, and customs of the Monguors.

There remains an aspect of the life of the Monguors with which I have not here dealt, which is quite as interesting and peculiar as the social, family, and economic aspects; this is the religious life. Lamaism, shamanism, and practices and beliefs which seem not to belong to either of these two religions played a part of overwhelming importance both in the life of private families and in community life. In a later volume I shall deal with these aspects and their social impact on the Monguors.

APPENDIX

THE SHAT'O TURKS

175 Although a Shat'o Turkish stock is an important component of the Monguor people, a survey of their history will help to clarify the differences, as well as the similarities, between Turks and Mongols.

About 540 the Juan-juan, identified by Pelliot with the Avars and considered by him to have been, in their language at least, early Mongols rather than Turks,[1] controlled the vast sweep of country from the western fringe of what is now Manchuria to Turfan, in Sinkiang, and from the Great Wall of China to the Orkhon River in Outer Mongolia and the southern tip of Lake Balkhash in Turkistan. The tribes of Turkish stock called by the Chinese T'uchüeh were then subject to the Juan-juan. "T'uchüeh" probably represents a plural form of the Juan-juan name for these people: Türküt. The habitat of these Turks centered on the Altai Mountains, and they were well known for their metal working. The Kaochü, who have been identified with the Tölös, were their strongest tribe.

The Juan-juan were weakened by a feud between their ruler, whose name has come down in the Chinese sources as Anakui, and his uncle P'olomen. After several revolts, beginning in 508, the T'uchüeh overthrew the Juan-juan in 552. The Juan-juan retreated to the frontier of North China, where they took service under one of the short-lived dynasties that preceded the founding of the great T'ang dynasty in 618.

The name of the successful T'uchüeh leader has come down in the Chinese transcription as T'umen, but its Turkish form appears to have been Bumin. His success was due to the support of another Chinese frontier dynasty, that of the Toba Wei, itself of barbarian and probably Turkish origin. He died almost as soon as the

[1] The following summary is based on René Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, 124 *sqq.*, Paris, Payot, 1939. Grousset drew on the original researches of Pelliot, Chavannes, Thomsen, F. W. K. Müller, Marquart, Shiratori, and others.

[P.131a]

Mo 582 /18 cont'd/ When the T'ou-jen give their children in marriage, nowadays at least, they attach importance to the degree of generation of the two parties: thus a nephew will never be able to marry his aunt, or an uncle his niece. The two parties must always be of the same generation.

Mo 587 563 This same law operates among the Chinese. Among the T'ou-jen, however, it is not so strict as among the Chinese in the case of marriages between the widow of an elder brother and his younger brother. /19/ Among the Chinese of the country, an elder brother will be able to marry the widow of his younger brother, but never vice versa.

Mo 582 563 As for marriages of T'ou-jen with Chinese girls, they are strongly discouraged by the elders of the tribe as being the great cause of their denationalization. Nonetheless, nowadays these marriages are more and more frequent, all the more so because of the example set by the clan chiefs. These unions precipitate the progress of the T'ou-jen people toward absorption in the Chinese nation.

Mo 563 582 Very often one sees the T'ou-jen give their daughters in marriage to Tibetans. The seminomadic Tibetans, their neighbors, even seem to seek them because of their fecundity, which is well known in the region. On the other hand, it is astonishing to see how easily T'ou-jen girls adjust among the Tibetans and adopt their ways.

Ma 582 (1)

1. Among the Manchu the laws regarding the "parties" to a marriage are more complicated than among the T'ou-jen. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 65 and following, says:

The women that may marry a man are limited to three restrictions: 1. the absolute prohibition, which they do not transgress, i.e. the prohibition to marry within the clan: (this law is explained as follows:) the general prohibition is to

2: Schram--205 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Two girls belonging to a Tibetanized T'ou-jen family. They wear the dress of the girls of Hoa-ri (northern Sining). The older one is spinning with the distaff and carries at the nape of the neck the stick to which she fastens the thread; the little one pulls out the wool.

Tibetan tribes, remnants of important ones which had fled to Kukunor or Tibet. Mongol troops, divided into small units, were settled with their families under the leadership of clan chiefs at strategic points, in order to prevent possible inroads of hostile neighboring tribes. A group of Shat'o living in the country since 936 joined the conquerers and was enlisted among the frontier defenders. The descendants of these groups constitute the Monguors to whom this study is devoted. Later there came also groups of Salars, Turks of Samarkand, to whom territories were assigned. More Moslems also settled in the country.[26]

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GODAN

The Yüan dynasty is well known for its devotion to Lamaism. In Tibetan and Mongol literature, Godan, the brother of Güyük (the Emperor T'ing tsung, 1246–1251) is celebrated as the first ardent Buddhist Mongol prince who invited to his residence in Hsi-Liang the Sa-Skya Pandita, Chief Abbot of the Sa-Skya sect.

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The holy man accepted the invitation and started his "apostolic" journey. He remained seven years in Hsi-Liang successfully diffusing the religion over the entire country.[27]

According to history, the troops of Godan had defeated the Tibetans northwest of Lhasa in 1239 and destroyed a monastery. The Tibetans asked for negotiations in order to end the war. Godan urged a Tibetan delegate to come to his residence, and Sa-Skya Pandita, to whom this task had been assigned, started his "apostolic" journey on "command" from Godan, in order to avoid the worst. He delivered Tibet into the hands of the Mongol Prince, received a "gold patent," became an official under Godan, and Vice-regent of Tibet. His successors inherited this office.[28] Discontent among the Tibetans over the surrender of Tibet caused a new Mongol expedition to be sent in 1251. More rivalries and discontent had to be crushed again by the Mongol troops in 1267, 1277, 1281, and 1290.[29]

175 648

The Mongol emperors, hoping to keep the Tibetans and Mongols in submission by manifesting reverence for the lamas and promoting their religion, lavishly showered favors and privileges on the lamas and became Lamaists themselves. Emperors and empresses received Lamaist initiation, and the Sa-Skya lama Phagspa, chaplain at court, was allowed to sit next to the emperor.[30] The court of the Mongols was sincerely

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[26] Louis M. J. Schram, C.I.C.M., The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part I, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1) : 23–57, 1954.

[27] Huth, *Geschichte der Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, 130, 1896.

[28] Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1 : 8, *et seq.* It is the merit of Professor Tucci to have shed true light on this old myth about the ardent Buddhist Godan, his invitation to the Sa-Skya Pandita, and the political status of Tibet during the Yüan dynasty. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217–91, 578.

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[29] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1 : 18. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217.

[30] Franke, *op. cit.* 4 : 510–517–522.

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PREFACE

t'u-ssu clans attended Chinese schools and many among them obtained literary and military degrees, became Confucianists and officials in the Chinese administration. Meritorious t'u-ssu were rewarded with honorary titles, and the growing standard of civilization in the families of the t'u-ssu chiefs spread among the subjects. 121

This history also describes the amalgamation of many tribes of diverse origin, among themselves and with the few Chinese of the country, in a compound which constitutes a notable part of today's Huangchung population.

Long times of distress and suffering endured at the hands of a common enemy bring destitute people close together. Tribes come to shelter together, share each other's houses and land, try to talk together, marry, etc., and if the circumstances last for a long time, as was the case in Huangchung, the customs and languages become unified and an amalgamation takes place.

It is in order not to obliterate the different elements of the compound which constitutes the Huangchung population that the study starts with notes relating to the tribes which lived in Huangchung—T'u-fan, Tanghsiang, Tibetans, Shat'o Turks, and several thousands of Uighurs—with notes about the time and the circumstances of their arrival, the country in which they were settled, and the part they played in the history of the country of Huangchung. [563]

The notes have not only an ethnographical importance, but also a bearing on the administration of these people, the study of their customs and the religions they practiced.

The history of the Monguor clan of the Lu family, according to its family chronicles is discussed because the Lu clan is the only clan which has been able to keep its chronicles. The chronicles of all the other clans have disappeared during the revolts which ravaged the country many times. The chronicles of the Lu clan, however, shed light on the organization of the other clans, their administration, their relations with the empire, the process of Sinisization, the peculiar mentality of the families of the chiefs of the clans, etc., and complement our knowledge of the Monguor t'u-ssu families.

The history of the Lu family is significant also in the way it shows the interest of the emperor in the Monguor clans which rendered so much help in the time of the inroads of brigands and the wars with the barbarians. This interest is displayed by the granting of titles and promotions; by inviting the chiefs to the capital, offering dinners and entertainments, making them admire the splendor of the palaces, gratifying them with honorary distinctions such as the peacock plume and the jade girdle, and with gifts of clothing, silks, satins, and porcelains; by ordering the civil authorities to build honorific arches in the cities to honor 175* 121 648 703

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*175 and systematically devastating the country in which they lived, explains a fact unique in history. The slaves possessed by the tribes (victims of wars apportioned to the chiefs) being without lords or depending on proprietors who could no longer control them or afford to nourish them, were able to abandon their chiefs and to establish a tribe of their own, called in history the Slave Tribe, "Hun-pu" or "Wu-mu." The slaves submitted in a group to the emperor in 862; they were settled in several districts of Kansu and even of Tunhuang, where they engaged in farming. A group of them was settled in Kuo Chou in Huangchung (*Annals* of Kansu 45: 66*b*. *Annals* of Hsining 30: 30, 31*a*).[16]

*175 However, China was not able to pay much attention 648 to East Kansu and Huangchung during the next twenty-five years (852–875). In 875 the terrible revolution of Huang Ch'ao started which lasted for nine years, followed by the disastrous armed competitions among the Chinese generals, and the end of the effete Tang dynasty in 906.

Then five insignificant dynasties, called Wu Tai, or the Five Dynasties, succeeded one another, accompanied by ruthless wars and destruction (907–960).[17]

HUANGCHUNG DURING THE WU TAI (FIVE DYNASTIES) PERIOD, 907–960

*175 Three important facts have to be recorded concerning Huangchung during the Five Dynasties (907–960). First, the presence in Huangchung in 939, in the country situated between Kanchow and Hsining, of Shat'o Chu-hsieh tribes belonging to the group of the founders of the petty Shat'o Hu Tang dynasty (923–936), attested in *Wu-tai shih-chi* (74: 10*b*, 11*a*). At what time or in what circumstances these tribes had settled in that part of Huangchung is not known (*Monguors*, I: 30). However, the powerful Monguor clan of the Li t'u-ssu originated later from among the Shat'o Chu-hsieh tribes of that country.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE SHAT'O NATION AND HUANGCHUNG AND EAST KANSU

*175 The second fact is the disintegration of the Shat'o 648 nation. In 947 K'ai-p'ing fu the capital of the Shat'o 563 Hu-tsin dynasty was taken by the Ch'i-tan. The Shat'o emperor and his family were deported to Huang Lung in northern Manchuria. The Ch'i-tan emperor, for fear of the revolting governor of Szechwan Province, had decided to garrison the numerous defeated Shat'o troops on the frontiers of Szechwan, and to send their wives and children into north Shansi as security for the fidelity of their husbands, promising to relieve them every year for a visit to their families.

Ho Chien, of Uighur origin, governor of the three districts of Chin, Chieh, and Ch'eng Chou in East

[16] Stein, *op. cit.* 44: 228.
[17] Hamilton, *op. cit.* 108, 128–129.

[P. 11 (A)]

175 Kansu, faithful retainer of the Shat'o dynasty, distrust-
648 ing these promises and enraged on account of the ruth-
563 less behavior of the Ch'i-tan, refused to surrender his troops to them and to defend their frontiers. He offered his troops and the districts he controlled to the governor of Szechwan. During these fateful times of wars and slaughter, the petty Hu Han (947–950) and Hu Chu (951–960) dynasties had succeeded successively to the Hu Chin dynasty of the Shat'o, and in 955 the governor of Szechwan and the troops of Ho Chien were defeated by Emperor Shi Tsung of the Hu Chu dynasty.

Now was the propitious time for the Shat'o troops to vanish with their families in Kansu among the Tibetans, for east, north, and northwest China were troubled by wars. Kansu, during the time of the ephemeral Shat'o dynasties (923–947) had constituted an integral part of their empire, and the Shat'o officials were cognizant of the chiefs of the Tibetan tribes living in East Kansu and Huangchung. The poor and destitute Shat'o having no way to move, many individuals and minor and major groups among them must have been happy to enlist and to disappear among the Tibetan tribes, acknowledging the authority of the chieftains and accepting the name of their tribe. They must have preferred to flee to the most remote mountainous southern part of East Kansu. Incidentally, it is noted among the 520 tribes of the powerful Tibetan chief, the later t'u-ssu Yang settled in the remote T'ao Chou, a tribe called the Shat'o tribe (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 64). A group of Ongutt Shat'o had fled to remote Lin T'ao, the region of the Tibetans. "They were Nestorians, they were taken prisoners by the Chin (1125–1235) and settled in Manchuria in the beginning of the twelfth century."[18]

Many groups among them fled to Huangchung and settled in the region between Kanchow and Hsining, joining the Shat'o who were living there in 939 (Monguors I) for at the time the Monguors conquered Hsining the entire region 60 li north and northwest of Hsining was inhabited by Shat'o.

That in 947 the Shat'o easily dispersed among the Tibetans, acknowledging their chiefs as their own, is quite normal, for their national pride must have been at very low ebb. Their petty first dynasty (923–936) had been controlled by three emperors of three different families and by a fourth whose mother only was known. The second dynasty (936–946) had been controlled by a Shat'o commander who had usurped the imperial power. The protracted wars had exhausted the discontented tribes, who did not know for whom they were fighting. The family of the founding ancestor of the nation had been obliterated and its doom sealed.[19]

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[18] P. Pelliot, Chrètiens d'Asie centrale and d'Extreme Orient, *T'oung Pao*, 15 (5): 630, 1914.

[19] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 42, 55, 58, 68, 1948.

[P. 11(B)]

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mantle. Trade was transacted in this city, where shops had been built and traders, artisans, and well-to-do people lived. In the outer city was a large terrace with three steps where every three years Heaven and Earth were worshipped, and also two smaller fortresses. More than one thousand houses were built in the outer city and many Buddhist temples with glazed tile roofs, and abodes for the lamas. Half of the buildings in the inner and outer cities were Buddhist buildings. Lamas presided at all the public ceremonies and participated at the councils of the chief. Five li outside the outer city, to the west, was built a very large lamasery with abodes for five hundred lamas and a splendid temple.

These notes written by the Chinese official prove that Chiossulo was fond of display and munificence, that his realm was flourishing and opulent and that he was a very fervent Buddhist, reigning over a Buddhist people and surrounded by lamas whom he revered. Hsining seems to have been a small Lhasa. Chiossulo was a descendant of princes who had lived in Lhasa, and the old traditions prevailing in Lhasa must have been fresh and living in his family and among his officials.

It is worth noticing that in the description of the opulent city written by the Chinese official, after many thousand Uighurs had surrendered and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo, not a single mention is recorded of a Manichean temple or Nestorian church. The Uighurs are known to have been professing Manicheans although many among them must also have been fervent Buddhists or shamanists or perhaps Nestorians. The Uighurs at the time of their arrival at Hsining must have been accompanied by their religious leaders and would normally have built some temples.

In the *Annals* of Hsining (15 : 2*b*), however, is noted a Pei-i-ssu the Temple of the White Clothes,[30] the stereotypical designation of Nestorian temples. This temple was situated north of the outer city and is the only Nestorian temple recorded in the *Annals*. The date of its construction is not recorded.

Chiossulo died in 1065 having had to defend twice more his independent kingdom against the Hsi Hsia, in 1058 and 1065 (*Annals* of Hsining 31B : 2*a–b*, 3*a*, 33*a*).

This history of Chiossulo is of overriding importance for the study of the Monguors. Unfortunately, I overlooked it at the time I prepared Part I of the study. It reveals how at the time of the conquest of Huangchung by the Mongols (1227) and the Ming (1368), the population of the country had come to consist of T'u-fan tribes already mixed with Tang-hsiang tribes, a group of the Slave tribes and strong groups of Uighurs and Shat'o. It sheds light on names of tribes of Monguor commoners pointing to their Turkish and Tibetan origin. The fact that several thousand Uighur Turks had fled to Huangchung in 1038 from the corridor of West Kansu and pledged allegiance to Chiossulo,

[30] Referring to the white clothes worn at the time of baptism.

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seems to justify and to explain historically my former hypothesis: "It seems a reasonable inference that a fair number of the subjects in the Monguor clans are Turks, but not all of them Shat'o Turks" (Monguors I: 54). "A majority of Turkish elements is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by the *t'u-ssu*" (Monguors I: 55). That many Uighur Turks are encountered in the clans of the Monguor Shat'o seems normal, for tribes of Turkish origin must have preferred to live together. The fact that all of Huangchung had been occupied by T'u-fan Tibetans since 629 explains that T'u-fan tribes preferred to join the T'u-fan of Hsining rather than to be moved among the Tang-hsiang tribes of Hsi Hsia.

MOSLEM TRADERS IN HSINING

The history of Chiossulo points to the problem of the first appearance of Moslems in Huangchung. The *Sung Shih* (492: 13*a*) notes explicitly "that Hsining Uighurs went to Kao Ch'ang along Kokonor and that traders from all the kingdoms of Central Asia came to do business." That the Hsining Uighurs were very well acquainted with those of Turkistan is no wonder, even as the T'u-fan of Hsining were acquainted with those of Kao Ch'ang, for Chiossulo was born in Kao Ch'ang. However, traders did not travel only from Hsining to the oasis east of Tarim, but they traveled also along Kokonor to the oasis of west Tarim, Khotan, Yarkand, etc., and further into India. This last route was already well known in the sixth century A.D.[31] and lamas fleeing the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa came over Khotan to Hsining. Since 943 the Karakhanids,[32] of Turkish origin, as were the Uighurs, had founded petty realms in the oasis of West Tarim. Their chief had been converted to Islam in 960 and forced his subjects to become Moslems. These Turks, being as sturdy traders as the Uighurs, were very cognizant of the booming trade of Hsining, through which territory they traveled bringing tribute to China,[33] and relations existed between Khotan and the house of Chiossulo itself, whose son Tung-chen had as a concubine a lady born in Khotan, and had adopted her son A li ku and appointed him as his successor in 1086.

Traders, according to the time-honored custom practiced all over China, were federated in guilds, protected by the local officials. They had their own business quarters, their own caravansaries and their permanent agents caring for the interests of the trade. Most of them had their families with them, and it seems very probable that during the booming period of 1038–1086, Moslem traders from West Tarim appeared for the very first time in Huangchung. No wonder that Marco Polo two centuries later noted explicitly the presence of Moslems in Hsining during the Mongol period in

[31] Chavannes, *op. cit.* 6: 333, 341.
[32] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 94, 95.
[33] *Sung Shih* 490: 7*b*. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 501.

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1274 and also of Nestorians, probably traders as were the Moslems, originating from Kao Ch'ang.

BUDDHISM IN HUANGCHUNG

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The history of Chiossulo has an important bearing upon the history of Buddhism in Huangchung and upon the specific character of Shamanism in the country.

In Part II (8–14) it is noted that, according to the *Annals* of Hsining, the first Buddhist temple in Hsining, the Ta Fo Ssu, had been built during the Yuan period (1280–1368). Since I was conversant with the history of Chiossulo, I suggested on page 12 that most probably during the occupation of Kansu by the Tsan p'u of Lhasa from 763 until 842, lamas would have followed the conquerors and spread Buddhism in Kansu. However, the first historical data are recorded in the *Blue Annals* translated by Roerich, where is noted the foundation of the monastery of Dantig in 940, on the northern borders of the Yellow River in Huangchung, and at the same time that in that country great hermitages already existed. These annals also note the existence in the city of Hsining of a Buddhist temple where Buddhist monks had been buried. These are the first historical data which prove that Buddhism was practiced in Huangchung before 940. Since the description of the city of Hsining during the reign of Chiossulo, who died in 1065, is available, we know that the city of Hsining was a Lhasa in miniature, where lamas stood at the helm, and that therefore, long before the Yuan period, Buddhism flourished on a very large scale.

SHAMANISM AND MANICHEISM

The Uighurs were converted to Manicheism in 762–763 and professed Buddhism and Nestorianism at the same time. At the time of their khanate in Kanchow in 872 their official religion was still Manicheism. Manicheism is based upon the doctrine of the existence of two distinct principles of good and evil, and of two distinct beings impersonating good and evil, both eternal, independent, and mutually antipathetic.

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The shamanism of the Monguors (Monguors II: 94–97) has been explained on the one hand by the overwhelming fear of evil spirits existing among the shamanists, and on the other hand by the recognition of their dependence on good spirits in all the circumstances of life. The struggle between both groups of spirits has been recorded during the typical rite against hail. Then the people carry all their good spirits into the fields in the direction of the threatening clouds, and cry to them to fight the evil hail spirits, which they curse awfully. If it happens nonetheless that the crops are destroyed, the people sigh with despair saying: "the good spirits could not match the evil ones."

Professor Wolfram Eberhard,[34] reviewing the chapter on shamanism, suggested judiciously that there

[34] Wolfram Eberhard, *Jour. Amer. Oriental Soc.* 4: 284, 1957.

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might be reason to think seriously of the thesis of the influence of Iranian dualism upon the shamanism of the Monguors and upon that encountered in west China in a contact zone of Tibetan and Chinese populations. He notes that attention has already long ago been drawn to the Iranian elements in Central Asian shamanism. Since it is known that several ten thousands of Manichean Uighurs pledged allegiance to Chiossulo in 1036 and that they were settled in Huangchung and in East Kansu up to the borders of Szechwan, it is easy to agree with the suggestion. Without doubt Iranian elements had had time enough to influence the shamanism of Kansu, for my notes were recorded in 1910–1920, after these Manicheans had lived in the country for six centuries. Iranian influence upon the shamanism of Central Asia may be explained in the same way. The Uighur kingdom was liquidated in 840 by the Kirghiz, after the Uighurs had been converted to Manicheism eighty years earlier. Then they roamed in Turkistan and on the China borders carrying with them their Manicheism and came in contact with the shamanism of Central Asia.

SETTLEMENT OF THE UIGHURS

The arrival of thousands of Tibetans and several ten thousands of Uighurs all fleeing at the same time into Huangchung, driving before them their herds, carrying their belongings, etc., should have created a tremendous and delicate problem for Chiossulo to cope with. All these turbulent people had to be settled without hurting the feelings of the Tibetan tribes subject to him and already living in the country. This tremendous number of tribes must have upset the whole country, as many groups must have tried to occupy the territories which seemed fitting to them and have caused endless troubles.

The *Annals* of Hsining (4: 19a) dealing with the geography of the country note incidently that five thousand T'u-fan horsemen arrived at the well of Fu-t'i, and drove Uighurs who had settled there back to their own country. This well is situated near the well-known old fortress of Shih-pu-ch'eng (*Annals* of Hsining 7: 3a–b). This reveals how delicate a problem Chiossulo had to contend with, and indicates the attitude of the Tibetans toward the Uighurs intruding into their country.

It is impossible to find out which among the numerous tribe names recorded in the *Annals* for the first time in Ming times (1368) are Uighur, Tibetan, or Shat'o names, because all the tribes are generally recorded as being Tibetans.

What tribes were settled in Huangchung in 1008 when the twelve-year-old Chiossulo arrived in the country?

In Mao Ch'uan, the actual subprefecture of Nienpei, is recorded the presence of the important Tibetan

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tribe, T'u-fan mixed with Tang-hsiang, controlled by Wenpuku; and another important tribe controlled by the lama Li Li-tsung settled in the region of Tsung K'o. A third group is also noted, the group of the Slaves (Wu-mu) who settled in Kuo Chou, 150 li south of Nienpei, in 862.

To be sure, more insignificant tribes must have settled in Huangchung, but their names and the areas occupied are not recorded. Next to the Tibetan groups is recorded the Shat'o chu-hsieh tribe[35] living in a region 100 li south of Kanchow in 939, stretching from the Nan Shan to Hsining (Monguors I: 13*b*) and encompassing the region of the Tat'ung River. Many Shat'o, after the collapse of their dynasty in 955, had joined this group. These Shat'o were the southern neighbors of the Uighurs of Kanchow for two hundred years, who were a mixture of many tribes blended and fused into the compound that founded the Khanate of Kanchow in 872. Its predatoriness is attested in the history of Turkistan and Kansu.[36] Shat'o and Uighurs, according to the circumstances, had lived congenially together in former times, had combined their forces to fight a common enemy, but had fought against each other every time divergences of interest had arisen. What the relations had been between the Hsining Shat'o and the Kanchow Uighurs in 1036 is not known. The leading tribe among the Kanchow Uighurs was the Lung tribe.[37]

In what areas of Huangchung and east Kansu were these Uighurs and Tibetans settled by Chiossulo in 1036?

Scanning chapter 19 of the *Annals* of Hsining, dealing with the tribes settled in Huangchung in Ming times (1368) (three hundred years after their surrender to Chiossulo) one is amazed to read names of such tribes as Lung-pu, Lung-pen, Lung-wang, and To-lung. One thinks unwillingly that these names might point to tribes which had constituted the important Lung tribe of Kanchow, which might have divided into smaller tribes after the surrender to Chiossulo in 1036. One is surprised to read also that in 1071 the most powerful among the tribes depending on Hsining was the Lung-k'o tribe noted also as the Yu-lung-k'o tribe.[38] In the Lung k'o tribe there were numerous chiefs. The tribe was wealthy and opulent. It was settled in East

[35] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, 89, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[36] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 128–129.

[37] *Wu-tai-shih* 74: 4*a*. Stein, *op. cit.*, 256. The Lung is a branch of the Uighurs of Kanchow whose customs differ little from those of the other Uighurs. The Lung came from Karashar (Yen-ch'i). Lung was the name of the clan chiefs of Karashar. They had settled in Kansu and Yi Chou (region of Hami). Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 128.

[38] Biography of General Wang Ch'ao in *Sung Shih* 87: 20 *a–b*. *Annals* of Kansu 46: 10*b*. *Annals* of Hsining 31: 3*a*, and the important study of Enoki Kazuo, entitled *Osho no kiko Keiryaku ni tsuite* (on the Hsi-ho ching-lueh of Wang Ch'ao) in Mokoga Huho, 1, Tokyo, (Meng-ku hsueh pao) 1: 88–167.

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Kansu, in Yen Ch'uan Chai, which is Chang Hsien, situated 50 li southwest of Kung Ch'ang (Enoki, 158). The tribe surrendered to General Wang Ch'ao in 1071 with its 120,000 people. The *Annals* of Kansu 97: 14, record that Wang Ch'ao notified the emperor about the submission of the Lung-k'o tribe and petitioned to reward it with the name Pao (thankful). The request was granted and the emperor added the word Shun to the name, Pao Shun (thankful-faithful). Enoki (p. 111) noted also a Lung-po tribe living in East Kansu in 1071. It had troubles with the Tibetan To-chih tribe. However, the Lung tribes recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining were settled in Huangchung. The Lung-pu, numbering two thousand families, divided into two tribes, was settled south of Hsining on the northern borders of the Yellow River. Its people lived mostly in tents (*Annals* of Hsining 19: 3 *a–b*). The Lung-pen tribe numbering 873 families was settled 60 li west of Hsining. Its people lived partly in a city (fortress), partly in tents. The tribe controlled the Pen-pa-erh[39] tribe numbering one hundred families settled in the Hsi-shih-hsia (Tsamalung) on the rapids of the Hsining River between Hsining and Don Kir (*Annals* of Hsining 1: 12*a*, 15*a*). The small Lung-wang and To-lung tribes numbering eighty families were settled 80 li east of the city of Tatung on the borders of the Tatung River (*Annals* of Hsining 19, 20*a*) in the region occupied by the Shat'o at the time of their surrender. This seems to suggest that this group was congenial with the Shat'o group.

UIGHURS AND SUBJECTS OF T'U-SSU

In discussing the commoners, the subjects of the Monguor t'u-ssu (Monguors I: 31–53), it has been noted that during the Mongol period (1280–1368), Ch'i Kung-k'o hsing-chi, a member of the imperial family, had been appointed guardian of the region situated 90 li south of Hsining. He discharged the office of myriarch and evidently controlled his own 10,000 soldiers and their families. However, it is recorded that he governed also eight tribes of Tung Ku and vicinity, descendants of western Ch'iang (western Tibetans). Tung Ku was situated between Hsining and the Tatung River, in the region of Tatung, where during the Five Dynasties (907–951) Shat'o tribes lived, joined by other groups of Shat'o after the collapse of their dynasty. These western Ch'iang seem to be Uighurs of the khanate of Kanchow who had settled there in 1036. The Uighurs of Kanchow had come from the west, from Turkistan, and so are called western Tibetans, for all the barbarians are called Tibetans in the *Annals*. For what reason these eight tribes had been moved and put under the control of the myriarch

[39] *Anthropos* 52: 560 sq., 1957. Dominik Schroder writes a very interesting article: Uber die Chia-Fandse von Benghar, Tsing-hai (the Pen-pa tribe), und ihre Hochzeitssitten.

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is not recorded. Friction between Uighurs and Shat'o? Not room enough in Tung Ku for the herds? A device to increase the military power of the myriarch?

It is also noted that twelve Pai-tieh tribes and others were controlled by the three Shat'o officials Li, Na, and Chi, who guarded the country 30 li south and west of Hsining. To these three Shat'o chieftains who controlled their own Shat'o subjects, the Pai-tieh tribes and others had been entrusted by the Mongols. Probably they were Uighurs, for they were moved from the Tung-ku region also, and it is noted that their customs and clothes and adornments were the same as those of the western Ch'iangs of the myriarch.

It is further noted that the Shat'o official Li Nan-ko originally controlled the tribes of Tung Ku and the Hula tribes. Probably being a prominent and powerful chieftain, he had enrolled among his Shat'o subjects these Uighur tribes, at the time they fled from Kanchow. At the same time it is recorded that the t'u-ssu Ah, Chao, Yeh, Kan, and Chu controlled the Lu-erh-chia tribes and others, which were in the main similar in customs, clothing and adornments, according to the *Annals*.

It is noted (Monguors I: 56) that only one large group of Chinese is known to have enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans. The group bears the surname of Pao and is usually called the Yuan Pao group. They are subjects of the Lu t'u-ssu. We were at a loss to explain satisfactorily the name Yuan Pao. The fact had been noted above that the strong Lung K'o tribe, with its 120,000 people, had received, in 1071, from the Sung emperor the name Pao for its faithfulness toward the dynasty. Is it not possible that, during the period of troubles, which lasted for nearly two centuries, the clan disintegrated, that a group moved to Huangchung and lost its language, conserving the name Pao, but, knowing that they were Uighurs, that they preferred to be enrolled in the t'u-ssu clans, as so many Uighurs during the Yuan period? Because this had happened during the Yuan period, they are still called the Pao group of the Yuan time, Yuan Pao chia.

It seems conclusively that these tribes were Uighur tribes which, during the Mongol period, had been divided in small units and entrusted to these petty military officials, and appointed as guardians of definite territory and mountain passes in Huangchung in order that they might be able to defend the country more easily.

SETTLEMENT OF UIGHURS AND SHAT'O IN EAST KANSU

The preceding notes explain the settlement of only a relatively small number of Uighurs. But where has the remainder of the several ten thousands of Uighurs been settled? Since the very important Lung K'o tribe was settled in East Kansu, and another Lung-po tribe is rooted in the same region, and on the map a

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Lung village is noted near Ming Chou in East Kansu, our investigations are turned in that direction.

From 1086 on, the entire population of Huangchung and parts of East Kansu controlled by the descendants of Chiossulo was intermittently involved in troubles with the Chinese empire, and in 1096 it arose as one man against the Sung empire, combining its forces with those of the Hsi Hsia. The cities of Huangchung were taken and retaken alternatively by Chinese troops and Tibetans, and the whole country was devastated and ruined. The flourishing empire founded by Chiossulo had lasted for only about fifty years. The fateful Huangchung was again controlled by the Sung emperor. After another period of fifty years, during which Chinese and Chin empires fought the Hsi Hsia and then fought among themselves, the Chin empire occupied Huangchung in 1131 and appointed Kuan Shih Ku to control the Ho Chou area and all of Huangchung (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 8*a*).

What happened to the Uighurs from 1086 until 1227? Having been settled in the territories of Chiossulo since 1036, mixed with the Tibetan tribes depending on him, and having pledged allegiance to him, inevitably they had endorsed the policy of the tribes of Huangchung and had a desperate time. During the fifty years of wars and destruction many of these Uighur tribes must have disintegrated and mixed with others. In 1369, at the time the Ming dynasty conquered Kansu, organized the country, and established the régime of the t'u-ssu, the disaster was wrought among the tribes, especially in East Kansu.

Tang-hsiang tribes, in which T'u-fan tribes had mixed, had been settled in East Kansu since 627. Shat'o groups, in 955, had scattered into the remotest southwestern parts of East Kansu, in the region of the upper T'ao River and near the borders of Szechwan. In 1036, in the same region, a large number of Uighurs must have been settled and at the débacle of the Mongol dynasty (1368) many Mongol groups also remained in these countries.

Scanning the list of the t'u-ssu established in that region in Ming times, one wonders to see in the *Annals* of Kansu the clear distinction established among the subjects of the t'u-ssu. Every time, their subject Tibetan tribes are accurately noted as Tibetans, and next to them their native subject tribes. This intended distinction seems to point at genuine Tibetan tribes and at the mixture of Shat'o Uighurs and Mongols qualified as natives.

SARO AND SHERA UIGHURS

In the remote country of the mountainous Ming Chou Hsien at the source of the T'ao River is recorded the T'u-ssu Ma Chin-tung, of Chinese origin, controlling 26 native tribes (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 27*a*). In the same region T'u-ssu Hu Ch'eng controlled 41 vil-

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lages of natives, inhabited by 440 families (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 29*b*). This means that the natives of Hu T'u-ssu were no longer organized in tribes as were the subjects of the first Ma T'u-ssu. Still, in the same Ming Chou T'u-ssu Chao Tang-chih-kuan-pu controlled three tribes of Tibetans and eight villages of natives, who later became Chinese (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 30*a*). Also in the same Ming Chou region, another *t'u-ssu*, Chao Cho-ssu-shieh, a chief of nomad Tibetans controlled 43 tribes of Tibetans and 48 tribes of natives. His subjects joined the revolt of the Yellow Tibetans (Uighurs),[40] their neighbors, during the Yung Cheng period (1723–1724). The t'u-ssu lost his office and his subjects were forced into the framework of the Chinese administration and became thoroughly Chinese (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 31*a*). This important text proves definitely the presence of groups of still autonomous Yellow Tibetan (Uighur) tribes controlled by their own chiefs, in whose revolt the forty-eight native tribes joined. It may be supposed that they also were Uighurs still organized in tribes but controlled by the t'u-ssu. In Ti Tao along the same T'ao River the Mongol T'u-ssu Chao T'o-t'ieh-mu-erh controls three tribes of Tibetans and fifteen tribes of natives. In Choni region situated on the same river, between T'ao Chou and Ming Chou, the well-known T'u-ssu Yang controls 520 tribes called Tibetans (*Annals* of Kansu

[40] *T'oung Pao* 14, 1: 149, 1913, records "the Yogur tribes in Kansu are separated in two groups, whose languages are entirely different. The Saro Yogurs (Yellow Tibetans) are Turks, the Shera Yogurs (Black Tibetans) are Mongols. This note is written according to articles of G. F. Mannerheim: A visit to the Saro Yogurs (*Journal de la Société Finn Ougrienne* 28: 2, 1911, and to the article of S. E. Maloff: Restes de Chamanisme chez les Yogurs Jaunes (Saro Yogurs) en Russe, extract de la revue *Jivaia Starina*, 61–74, 1912. Concerning these two groups, the *Annals* of Kansu 42: 87*a*, 88, 89, record: 15 Hsi-la-ku-erh tribes called Huang-fan (Yellow Tibetans, Saro Yogurs) live in the southern mountains (Nan Shan), five in the district of Kanchow, eight in that of Suchow and two in that of Kao T'ai, and also seven T'ang-wu-t'e tribes called Hofan (Black Tibetans, Shera Yogurs). The proper name of the Yellow group is Tan-chih. Formerly it inhabited the commandery of Han-tung (Sha-chou) and is of Mongol origin. It was looted by T'ulufan and moved by Governor Wang Chih into the southern mountains of Kanchow in 1518; it is usually called the Yellow Mongol group. The sources of the Ho River are 100 li southwest of Kanchow. (The sources of the Ho River are far from the regions of the T'ao River, Ming Chou, Ling T'ao.) The west side of the river is entirely inhabited by Yellow Tibetans, the east side by Black Tibetans, also called people of the northern way. The Black Tibetans called T'ang-wu-t'e originated from the Hsi-ch'iang (Western Tibetans) of the Han time (200 B.C.–A.D. 200). In 1696 they were forced to follow Galdan. After the defeat of Galdan, those among them who were engaged in farming, surrendered. In 1698 they received hereditary titles, with official documents and seals, on which were written and engraved Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese characters. Six tribes inhabit Kanchow territory, one inhabits Kao T'ai. These notes, excerpted from the *Annals* of Kansu, deal only with tribes living in the Kanchow territory and in the Suchow area, not with those of Ming Chou.

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42: 32 *a–b*). Among these tribes one is called Shat'o tribe (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 64*a*) and several are called Black Tibetans (Uighurs) (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 67*a*). Also is noted a revolt of Black Tibetan tribes in 1712 in which the Black Tibetans of Yang T'u-ssu joined. The t'u-ssu helped subdue the revolt and titles were granted to thirty-seven tribes of these Black Tibetans (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 32*a*). There are only recorded the most important t'u-ssu. Finally two important groups of Yellow and Black Tibetan tribes (Uighurs) are recorded in that remote mountainous region, which during the Manchu dynasty still lived independently, controlled by their own chiefs, and to which joined the Yellow and Black Tibetans who had submitted to local chieftains.

The Black Tibetans (Uighurs) living in the T'ao Chou district, depending on the Yang T'u-ssu of Choni, revolted during eleven years from 1868 to 1879.

Since 1822, the rebels of the old White Nenuphar groups, incessantly changing the name of their groups and moving from Szechwan Province, had invaded East Kansu and wrought tremendous havoc among the people of all of East Kansu for more than fifty years. The Tibetan, Uighur, and Shat'o tribes revolted at the same time. All the revolts were directed against the hated Manchu dynasty, a dynasty of barbarian origin which ruled China.

In 1868 the revolt of the Black Tibetans of Yang T'u-ssu had been more or less quelled. It broke out in full swing in 1879 again. According to the *Annals* of Kansu 46: 70*a*, a Black Tibetan, subject of the Yang t'u-ssu, called Cho yang-jen-chieh, living in the Kua-tse-ku, was a shaman by profession. In 1879, during the devastating earthquake of the fifth moon, his wife gave birth to a boy, whom he insidiously had called to be a Living Buddha. The baby was brought to the monastery and the lamas with the shaman, intending to make money, spread the news. During the feast prepared to honor the Living Buddha, attended by a huge crowd making offerings, the shaman, a piece of red cotton rolled on his head and a sword in his girdle, performed the shamanistic rites. Enraptured in a wild trance, he disclosed what his spirit had just imparted to him: the Living Buddha was chosen, the spirit said, to become the emperor of China. All the Black Tibetans of the four tribes were enrolled in the army of the Buddha, weapons were prepared, and the Uighurs attacked the villages of Ah Ho T'an and Yung P'ing and others. At that time the revolt of the White Nenuphar, called by the Chinese the "Hairy brigands," was still raging in East Kansu. Troops soon arrived. The Black Tibetans were beaten and pursued.

The Governor General Tso Tsung-t'ang sent more troops, ordering them to capture the chiefs of the revolt. The shaman, the Living Buddha, and twenty other men were captured and killed, and T'ao Chou district was

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partly Tibetan and partly Mongol. In not too long a time they would have become thoroughly Tibetan.[41]

ETHNOGRAPHY OF HUANGCHUNG AND EAST KANSU

The preceding notes have an important ethnographic bearing. It has been noted that in 625, for fear of invading T'u-fan of Tibet, several thousand Tang-hsiang from the region of Sung P'an in Szechwan had fled to East Kansu, submitted to China, and had been settled in East Kansu and Mi Chih in Shansi; also that T'u-fan hordes chased the T'u-ku-hun from Huang-chung and the Kokonor region and settled in Huang-chung in 629. From 763 until 842 the whole of Kansu had been lost to China; the Tsan-p'u of Lhasa controlled the country and appointed his officials. Consequently, the bulk of the population of East Kansu consisted of Tang-hsiang and T'u-fan subjects. In 955 the Shat'o nation disintegrated and many Shat'o groups were incorporated in the Tibetan tribes in East Kansu and many fled to Huangchung, joining the Shat'o group which was living there in 939. In 1036 tens of thousands of Uighurs surrendered to Chiossulo who settled them in Huangchung and in East Kansu. In 1368, in the Ming dynasty, some Uighur groups had still kept their tribal organization but, under the leadership of t'u-ssu, others had become mixed with Tibetans and Shat'o in village formations and two groups had conserved their autonomy under the leadership of their own chiefs. When in 1712–1723 these groups revolted against the Ch'ing dynasty, many small groups of Uighurs controlled by t'u-ssu followed the people of their race in the revolt. During the Mongol period (1280–1368) many groups of Mongols settled in East Kansu and Huangchung. After the collapse of their dynasty most of them submitted to the Ming and remained in the country. Some of their chiefs became t'u-ssu and other groups disintegrated and dispersed in the country.

These notes explain what specific tribes constitute the base of the present population in Huangchung and East Kansu and at what time these tribes had arrived in Kansu. During centuries they lived one next to the other, feuding and blending with the few Chinese of the country, forming the compound called Kansu Chinese.

COLLAPSE OF THE T'U-FAN KINGDOM OF HUANGCHUNG

Chiossulo had three wives. The first, belonging to the Ch'iao family, bore one son, Tung-chan; the second, the daughter of the lama Li Li-tsun, the dismissed minister, bore two sons; no notes concern the third (*Annals*

[41] Mathias Hermann, S.V.D., Uiguren und ihre neuentdekten Nachkommen, *Anthropos*, 78–99, 1940–1941.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Pao with their 150 and 90 families, respectively, all surrendered. At the same time five clans surrendered who were recorded in the *Annals* as Monguors: the clans Wang, Kan, Chou, Hsin, and La, with 150, 300, 62, and 100 families, respectively. The Mongol clan Ah with its 150 families surrendered, whose chief discharged during the Yuan the office of secretary of the province of Kansu, and also the Yeh clan with 70 families, Mohammedans of Turkistan, recorded as being of Ch'an-t'ou origin (turbaned heads). The chief of the Yeh clan was secretary of the administrative organ of Kansu during the Yuan. These are the twelve clans which surrendered in a group in 1371.

The date at which the Ch'eng clan, with 150 families, settled in Hsining during the Ming is not recorded. Its clan chief is of Chinese extraction and originated from Shan Yang in Chiang Nan (Chiang Nan became later the Nan Huei and Kiangsu provinces), and its subjects are called "natives."[62] The date at which the Chao clan, 120 families, settled in Huangchung during the Ming also is not recorded. Its chief during the Yuan discharged the duty of myriarch of Chao Tsang, and is noted as being from Min Chou and of Mongol origin. Li Hua-no, an offshoot of the Li Nan-ko branch, and so normally a Shat'o, received from the clan 100 families and became t'u-ssu only in 1645. To this list of 15 t'u-ssu clans is still to be added the clan of the Mongol Ch'i Kung-k'o-hsing-chi with his 800 families, who had been the first among the Huangchung t'u-ssu to surrender in 1369. Among them 13 clans were settled in Huangchung in the beginning of the Yuan period in definite territories, and the mountain passes to be guarded by each of them had been indicated. This seems to suggest that all of them were large or minor groups of soldiers, with their chiefs, wardens of the country in behalf of the Yuan. They continued during the Ming, and later during the Ch'ing, to occupy the territories they had occupied during the Yuan, except the two cities of Hsining and Nienpei, and to be charged with the same duties, because the

[62] In Huangchung the subjects of the sixteen t'u-ssu clans living in the country are commonly called Monguors, by the Monguors themselves, whether they are of Mongol, Shat'o, Uighur, Tibetan, or Chinese extraction. The Chinese call them *t'u-jen*, i.e. "natives." Among these natives are people of Mongol, Shat'o, Uighur, and Tibetan stock and even some Chinese who entered the t'u-ssu clans. Tibetans settled in Huangchung, with their own tribal chiefs, are called Hsi-fan, and Mongols living outside Huangchung are called Ta-tse, Ta-ta, T'u-ta, Meng-ku, but never Monguors. The present study deals with the Monguors of Huangchung who speak a peculiar Mongol dialect, not understood by the other Mongols. In Ho Chou region lives a group of Mohammedan Mongols, whose language is very similar to that of the Monguors. However, the group is not called Monguor but Sant'a. The group of Mongols of the Lu t'u-ssu clan of Lien Ch'eng are genuine Monguors and recognized as such by the Monguors of Huangchung. In Chinese studies dealing with the natives of Huangchung, they are all indiscriminately called Meng-ku, Ta-tse, T'u-ta, Ta-ta, Hsi-fan, T'u-jen, and T'u-ming (Monguors I: 31, 32).

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Ming fixed the number of both foot and horse each of them had to keep ready for emergencies and indicated the mountain passes they had to defend.

An interesting fact is that all the subjects of the 16 *t'u-ssu* are called *t'u-min* or *t'u-jen* in the *Annals* and by the people. Soldiers in the Yuan time were accompanied by their families. At that time no Chinese lived in Huangchung. Huangchung was the land of the barbarian Monguors, controlled by Monguor chiefs. It is no wonder that when the Chinese started founding Chinese colonies in Huangchung, the colonists called the Monguors natives, and called Hsi-fan the few uninteresting small Tibetan tribes having their own petty chiefs, for their language and customs differed entirely from those of the Monguors.

Still in Huangchung, on the borders of the Yellow River, but not in the prefecture of Hsining, are encountered two groups of Salars (Muslim Turks of Samarkand) who lived in Huangchung during the Yuan time, having no or few relations with the Monguors. They had already surrendered to the Ming on their own account in 1370, and their two chiefs had received an incumbency. The clan chief Han Pao-yuan had received the office of centurion. He controlled the four upper Salar clans (Kung) who had adopted the surname Han and inhabited the region west of Hsun Hua (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*a*). The clan chief Han Shan-pa had also received the office of centurion. He controlled the four lower Salar clans, which had adopted the surname Ma, and inhabited the region east of Hsun Hua (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 43*b*). The four upper and four lower Salar clans are called the eight inner Salar clans (Nei Pa-kung). There still remain five outer Salar clans (Wai Pa-kung) depending on and controlled by the subprefecture of Pa-yen-jung (Monguors I: 22, 23).

It is not known at what time the Salars settled in Huangchung. A legend is still spread among them relating to their arrival in the country during the Tang dynasty, 620–905. Anyway, the Salars were settled in Huangchung during the Yuan time (1280–1368) and surrendered to the Ming in 1370.[64] Consequently, in the fifth moon of 1371 the entire population of Huangchung with its chiefs had surrendered to the Ming.

MING POLICY TOWARD SURRENDERING TRIBES

The policy adopted by the Ming in Kansu, in order to promote the surrender of the numerous groups of Mongol officials living in that country who still commanded a fair number of soldiers and tribes of Tibetans with soldiers subject to them, which was to appoint the Mongol officials and tribal chiefs officials of the newly established dynasty, retaining control over their

[64] William Woodville Rockhill, *Diary of a journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892*, 80, Smithsonian Institution, 1894.

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province, and T'u-ssu Wang to accompany General Mu Yin to Kan and Su Chou to fight the unfaithful Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa. Two hundred of his soldiers were taken prisoner. Then the army proceeded to Ch'ih Chin in the Gobi where the Mongol Prince I-lien-cheng, his seal and tribes, were captured (*Annals* of Kansu ?: 42*a–b*, 40*a*, 48*b*).

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T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh induced the Tibetan chiliarch A-pu to surrender, and in the fourth moon he fought the Tibetan chief I-lin-cheng-pen (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 10*b*).

At the death of the Mongol emperor in 1378, T'o ku-ssu had succeeded to the throne in Mongolia. He was soon on the warpath, mustering two armies in order to invade China, one in the Gobi at Karakorum, and one in North China at Yin Ch'ang. The army at Karakorum suffered a severe defeat at the hand of General Mu Yin in 1380, but the army of Yin Ch'ang was making inroads in Liaotung province.[72]

In 1380 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was called to court and ordered to arrive at Peking with his troops to stem the forays of the Ying Ch'ang brigands of the emperor. At the same time he was granted the title of Hsuan-wei general and the hereditary office of Chih Huei ch'ien shih in Hsining. He fought the brigands at Chin Shan Ssu, at Huo Ho, Yung P'ing, Su Chou, etc. His troops were victorious everywhere. He came back to Hsining after the capture of Na ha ch'u in 1387 (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*b*).

SURRENDER OF TRIBES IN HUANGCHUNG

Two years after the establishment of the exchange bureau the submission of nine Tibetan tribes is recorded in the *Annals* of Hsining, chapter 16. It is hard to find out which among them were Tibetan, Shat'o, or Uighur tribes. At the time of the surrender of Li Nan-ko with the officials of Hsining in 1371, only thirteen tribes had submitted (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 1*b*), and the names of the tribes are not recorded. It may be assumed that the reiterated invitations conveyed by the t'u-ssu to the chiefs of tribes by order of the emperor during eight years had reaped small success. Now, however, the fascination of the profits attached to the tea market had stimulated the tribes to surrender.

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In the northern part of Hsining the submission of two tribes is noted.

The Pa sha tribe lived in tents on a territory larger than 500 square li, situated more than 100 li north of Hsining on the borders of the Tat'ung River. It controlled the Tsan-tsa tribes, the Ssu-erh-ssu-ko and many small tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 7*b*).

The Pa Wa tribe were also nomads, living next to the Pa sha tribe on the borders of the Tat'ung River. This tribe must have been smaller than the Pa sha tribe (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 10*a*).

[72] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 10-11.

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REVOLT OF TIBETAN TRIBES IN HUANGCHUNG

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Really desperate times were still in store for the population of Huangchung, for a half-century to come. This time the troubles were caused by the Tibetan tribes from Huangchung itself. After the restless Pa sha tribes had been defeated in 1516 by the Chinese army, some of their sub-tribes were exterminated or disintegrated. The chief of the Tsan-tsa tribe, one of the sub-tribes of Pa sha, succeeded in gathering some tribes under his leadership and in controlling 1,500 families. Other tribes living in the northwest of Hsining joined the group. Among them was the strong Tibetan Erh-chia-ting tribe. They beseiged the city of Nienpei in 1550 and laid waste the country. Commander T'ang Yung beat the brigands. However, the brigands, using the time-honored ruse of a feigned retreat, killed the commander in an ambuscade.

In 1551 all the tribes northeast of Hsining plundered the Hung-nai valley. They administered to the Chinese army a crushing defeat; three officers and two thousand soldiers died on the field of battle. T'u-ssu Ch'i, Li, Hsin, and Wang participated in the battle (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 15, 16; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 34).

The next year small groups of Kokonor brigands made raids in Yen-mei-ch'uan, north of Hsining, but were chased away (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 16).

In 1553 Tsan-tsa tribes with those of Erh-chia-ting again plundered the villages north of Hsining and Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 16; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 34).

In 1554 Kokonor brigands plundered Sa-t'ang valley and were beaten. They fled toward the southern valleys of Hsining, where they plundered for five days. On the arrival of the army they fled to the western valley of Hsining, but were put to flight (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 34; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 16).

Tsan-tsa and Erh-chia-ting tribes in 1557 again raided the valleys south of Nienpei and plundered the lamasery of Ch'u-t'an-sse. Pursued by the army they plundered the valleys situated north of the Hsining River. More Tibetan tribes had joined the group, the Hung-mao, the La-tsa, the Ko-tsa, etc. The depredation in the country was wicked and ruthless. The t'u-ssu had to defend their own fortresses and villages. In the meantime Altan, the brother of Jinong beseiged the city of Kanchow calling all the Mongol brigands of the country, and went with his new army to Peking, plundering on the way the villages and cities of Shan-tan, Yung-ch'ang and Liangchow (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 16; 19: 7*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 34, 35) in Kansu.

The raids of Kokonor brigands and Tibetans raged unchecked during 1558 in all of Huangchung. The situation was out of control, the plight was desperate. T'u-ssu Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47), and Yeh (*An-*

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nals of Kansu 42: 52) had died in recent actions, and the troops suffered many reverses. Most of the armies, most of the time, did not fight, but liked better to stay at bay behind walls and barricade themselves in the cities. There were very few pitched battles on a large scale. In the meantime, the brigandage grew with the passing of the years, for it proved to be beneficial to the brigands, who at the same time revenged themselves on their former oppressors, murdering anyone who made a stand. The confidence in the empire, among the population beset with starvation and abject poverty, was shaken, and there was nothing to relieve the dreariness of life. The outlook remained gloomy and no new troops arrived in the country.

One can hardly understand why, in such critical circumstances, no more troops should have been sent to Huangchung and Kansu by the emperor, to save the starved and pillaged people and prevent the total ruin of the country. However, the troubles which beset Kansu were not the only ones with which the empire had to cope. During the entire reign of Emperor Cheng Te (1605–1622) the borders of the empire from Kansu up to Peking itself had been exposed to persistent and incessant attacks of Mongols, under the command of Dayan. In 1516 two groups, one of seventy, the other of fifty thousand Mongols, invaded Hsuan-hua-fu in Shansi Province. The conditions were similar during the reign of Chia Ching (1522–1567). In 1532 Hsiao Wang-tze with 100,000 men invaded the empire. In 1536 Chi Nang controlled 100,000 soldiers and raided Ninghsia, Tatung, and Hsuan-hua, and in 1544 the country around the capital was devastated and looted of its wealth. In 1550 the Mongols administered a crushing defeat to the Chinese armies and reached the northern gate of the capital where for eight days they laid waste the country and returned to the desert carrying with them a huge amount of booty. The raids, whetting the appetite for plunder, were resumed every year in the northern country. In 1561 they camped again under the walls of the capital. The raids continued unabated until finally in 1570 peace was granted to Altan (Dayan's grandson), who had sued for peace since 1542. Then markets were opened for his tribes and the title of Shun-i-wang bestowed upon him. The Obedient and Righteous Prince!

These circumstances explain why the brigands in Kansu had been fought in a nearly desultory fashion for half a century. They explain also the danger looming over the Ming dynasty, on account of the still strong savage Mongol forces and the lack of discipline and direction in the army.

The same conditions continued for more than a half century for the same reasons, lack of discipline and direction on the part of the army, and unity among the Mongols, strengthened by the benefits to be expected from the amount of loot furnished by the forays. Even when later the Mongols divided in two groups, each

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While the t'u-ssu and their subjects were fighting and suffering and dying in Hsining, the despairing Ming emperor, on April 25, 1644, had hanged himself in the Wan Sui Shan in Peking. On June 6, 1644, the troops of the new Ch'ing dynasty entered Peking and started at full speed with destruction of the troops of Li Tze-ch'eng who had already proclaimed himself emperor. On October 7, 1644, he ended his life by hanging himself.[87]

The t'u-ssu and their subjects served the Ch'ing dynasty with the same faithfulness they had served the Ming dynasty.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) started with the occupation of Huangchung, this was an insecure colony of China, which during the previous dynasties had been lost several times and recovered. The Ming organized the country, providing a civil and military administration on the Chinese pattern. In Huangchung they started with the founding of military colonies, induced the Tibetan tribes to submit to them, established the exchange bureau of tea for horses, favored and protected the arrival of traders from inside China, and promoted agriculture and commerce. They attracted Chinese to settle in the country, built schools, promoted education, and repelled forays of Tibetans and Mongols from outside the Huangchung borders. Huangchung was at peace.

However, in the fateful year 1509 the first group of Mongols arrived and settled in Kokonor, followed by one after another, which ruined and cowed into submission the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor. At the same time the population of Huangchung and East Kansu, from 1509 to 1597, succumbed to the recurrent onslaught of avid, restless and predatory Mongols. The Tibetan tribes, robbed of their cattle, having seen their women and young folk abducted, beset with starvation and abject poverty, started raiding, devastating, and laying waste Huangchung and East Kansu. The army could not deter the forces of destruction. Raids prevailed over the entire northwestern borders of the empire, and the emperor gave the Huangchung officers insufficient reinforcements. It was only in 1590 that the energetic Minister of War, Cheng Lo, commanding new forces, succeeded in defeating the brigands. In the meantime the administration had incessantly built cities, villages, schools, walls, and fortresses all over the country. The aspect of the country had changed completely, despite the desperate times. The country had been organized and the administration established.

During these times, when raids and destruction raged unchecked, Chinese and Shat'o and Uighurs, Tibetans and Monguors had suffered together, helped and sheltered each other, and blended and fused in the compound called the Huangchung population.

In 1644 when the Ch'ing dynasty occupied Huangchung it was no longer the depopulated unorganized

[87] Erich Hauer, *op. cit.*, 488, 494, 497.

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were afraid these brigands would join the rebel Mohammedans.

T'u-ssu Ch'eng Hsing-nan was ordered to join the troops of General Fan Pei-lin and guard the passes of Cha Ssu Kuan and Ch'ing Ling nao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 37). T'u-ssu Ch'i Ch'eng-kao joined the army, fighting the rebels on the passes (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*a*). T'u-ssu Chao Yung-li guarded the passes in Pa Yen Jung country, and was rewarded with the two-eyed peacock feather (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*a*).

T'u-ssu Lu Chi-hsun, having the title of brigadier general, fought with 500 of his troops around Hsining. He was helped by his nephew Lu Su-chou (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 57, 60).

In 1863 the revolt was growing more intensive every day. East Kansu suffered tremendously.

In the tenth moon rebels of the district of Ninghsia, led by Ma Hua-lung [99] took the important city of Ninghsia by storm. The city was devastated. Many fires were set and tens of thousands of Chinese were killed. Thereafter Ma Hua-lung besieged and captured the city of Ling Chou where he killed 20,000 Chinese.

In the tenth moon Mohammedans besieged the city of Hsining. For a long time dissension concerning the old and the new religion divided the Hsining Mohammedans into two camps. Governor Yu T'ung invited the Mohammedan chief Ma Wen-i to patch up the trouble and to make them desist from plundering the country. Both parties consented but a strong group of Salars and Shensi Mohammedans arrived, besieged the city, and then plundered the country. During the year 1863 T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to garrison in Sheng T'ang and Ch'i-li-pu, and guard the western highway *Annals* of Kansu 42: 57*b*).

In 1864 the revolt raged unchecked in East Kansu, and the city of Hsun Hua was taken by storm, followed by a tremendous massacre of the Chinese population. Another Mohammedan group attacked the city of Donkir west of Hsining, but was beaten. It invaded the Sina valley and was put to flight. Long before the attack of the city, dissension among the Mohammedans concerning the two religions had divided them into two groups. The old group was called the great group (*ta hui*), the adherents of the new religion, the group of the flowered temple (*hua sse*). The first group disapproved of the attack on the city and called into the city 1,000 of its members from outside. The Chinese population of

[99] The Moslem Ma Hua-lung, back from Turkistan, had founded a new sect in Chin Chi Pu in the prefecture of Ninghsia. He claimed to have received revelations from Allah. The people honored him as an equal of Mohammed. He was to be succeeded by his descendant after his death as chief of the sect. However, after his death, his son-in-law and his grandson struggled for the succession, and the sect parted in two groups. He did not proscribe attendance at the mosques, but he recommended praying at home, two or three families together, praying in a loud voice, with the palms of the hands turned upward. The sect spread even as far as Szechwan and Yunnan provinces (d'Ollone, *op. cit.*, 374).